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Pathfinder books: 'Indispensable for guidance of revolutionary activity'

Mary-Alice Waters at Cuba book fair

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MARCH 1, 2004

OCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

expanded piracy on high seas by U.S.-led coalition

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In a February 11 speech at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., U.S. president George Bush said that "the greatest threat before humanity today is the possibility of secret and sudden attack with chemical or biological or radiological or nuclear weapons."

Bush outlined a number of steps Washington has already put in practice or is in the process of implementing to prevent "terrorists" or "failing states" from acquiring socalled weapons of mass destruction. These include expanding the already widespread boarding of vessels and seizing "suspect" cargo on the high seas, in the air, or on the ground under the U.S.-led Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI); pushing for a resolution at the United Nations that would criminalize the spreading of such weapons to states that don't already possess them; and banning exports of nuclear material for energy purposes to any government that has not agreed to unannounced physical inspections of its nuclear facilities by imperialist

Beating the drums of the war party, liberal critics of the White House applauded the measures but complained that they are not strong enough. "President Bush has rightly called attention to one of the world's most alarming problems, the quickening spread of nuclear weapons technology, but proposes a disappointingly limited series of responses," said the lead editorial in the February 16 New York Times. "The initiatives he set

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'Perspectiva Mundial' editor speaks in Havana on class struggle in the U.S.

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

HAVANA—"I'd like to know how many undocumented workers there are in the United States. What effect does the increasing number of immigrants have on the work force in the United States?" asked Eric González, a high school student here. González was one of the 65 students who took part in an exchange with Róger Calero on February 3 at the Lenin School of Sci-

ence, on the outskirts of Havana. Calero, a Militant staff writer and associate editor of the Spanish-language magazine Perspectiva Mundial, spoke at the Lenin school as part of several meetings organized for him by Cuban youth organizations. They invited Calero to talk about his successful fight against the U.S. government's attempt to deport him and what his experience illustrates about U.S. politics today.

At the Lenin school, a boarding school for pre-university students in science in grades 10-12, Calero was welcomed by vice director Ramón Alvarez, Mario Baeza, a teacher who is the secretary of the Cuban Communist Party at the school, and Dany

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Bush calls for | Miners make gains in New Mexico coal strike

After 12-day walkout, workers strengthen union, win higher pay

BY KAREN TYLER

KIRTLAND, New Mexico-"We are stronger than before the strike. Everyone worked together and we have unity now," said Calvin Yazzie, a surface miner at the BHP Billiton Navajo mine, in a February 14 interview.

Yazzie was talking about the outcome of the 12-day strike here that ended two days earlier.

The walkout highlighted the growing confidence of coal miners in this region as they fight to defend and extend union protection in the West.

Some 438 surface miners, members of the International Union of Operating Engineers (IUOE) Local 953, struck BHP here January 31 after their contract expired. It was the first time these miners have walked out in 35 years. The new four-year contract, approved 249 to 169, includes wage increases three times higher than the company's initial offer

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The Gallup Independent/Jeffery Jones
Members of International Union of Operating Engineers Local 953 at New Mexico picket line

Armed revolt by imperialist-backed forces threatens Aristide government in Haiti

Thug attacks on opponents by pro-gov't groups push toilers to sidelines

BY ERIC SIMPSON

MIAMI—Forces enjoying the tacit support of Washington and other imperialist powers have gained ground in their effort

to oust Haiti's president Jean-Bertrand country's fourth-largest city, where armed

Aristide. They have beaten back government attempts to retake Gonaives, the

Growing numbers of Haitians, including layers of working people and political groups formerly loyal to the government, have sided with the insurgency as the bourgeois nationalist government of Aristide has increasingly used thug attacks and police violence against its opponents in an effort to maintain its grip on power—pushing the

toilers to the sidelines.

groups overran the police February 5.

While opposition forces have taken control of as many as 11 towns, press reports indicate they do not have the forces for a frontal assault on the government in other major cities. On February 15, thousands marched in Port-au-Prince, the capital, demanding Aristide's resignation. Two days earlier, a similar march was called off after pro-government forces erected barricades and burned tires to disrupt it.

While U.S. government officials have feigned concern over recent events that **Continued on Page 10**

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Florida garment workers celebrate anniversary of initial victory in fight for union

Cleveland Muslim cleric is charged with 'terrorism'

Los Angeles forum: 'End U.S. 11 restrictions on travel to Cuba!'

Washington targets U.S. travel to Cuba

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—In a February 9 statement the U.S. Treasury Department reviewed the results of the first 90 days of stepped-up enforcement of Washington's economic embargo and travel ban against Cuba. U.S. president George Bush announced the plan at an Oct. 10, 2003 press conference. He ordered tighter Department of Homeland Security inspections of travelers and shipments to and from Cuba, targeting in particular passengers who travel to Cuba via third countries or on private vessels. It is the latest action taken by successive U.S. administrations, both Democratic and Republican, in Washington's 45-year campaign to overthrow the Cuban

In the February 9 statement released by the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), Treasury Secretary John Snow listed 10 companies the department claims are controlled by the Cuban government or Cuban nationals. OFAC is the Treasury branch charged with enforcement of the embargo of Cuba. Nine of the 10 companies listed by Snow are travel agencies offering package trips. They include companies with offices in Argentina, the Bahamas, Canada, Chile, the Netherlands and Britain.

According to the statement, all property of these companies in the possession of individuals subject to U.S. jurisdiction is frozen and no one subject to U.S. authority is permitted to engage in transactions with these companies without authorization by the agency.

On the same day Snow outlined the measures to a meeting of about 100 Cuban-American businessmen in Miami, Reuters reported. "We're cracking down," he said. "We mean business."

According to OFAC, the border patrol is inspecting 100 percent of direct flights to and from Cuba at airports in Miami, New York, and Los Angeles. They have also added additional inspectors in those cities.

Some 44,000 passengers from 569 flights to Cuba, mostly charters, were

New phone number for 'Militant'

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* newsroom is now at its new location (see article on page 5). The new phone number is (212) 244-4899.

"screened" by the border cops. Another 50,915 passengers and crew members from 1,007 flights returning to the United States were "subjected to extensive examination," the OFAC statement added. The flights targeted included those carrying passengers suspected of returning from Cuba via a third country. Some 275 passengers on the charter flights were denied permission to travel after border cops claimed they did not qualify under OFAC regulations.

Last December, 28 photography students from Napa Valley College in California were stopped in Miami by customs cops as they attempted to travel on a college-sponsored program to Cuba. Ron Rogers, head of the college's art department, told the *Napa News* that one student was subjected to "rapid-fire questions" and that the customs officials were there to "challenge and rattle and intimidate her." The students

were allowed to board a flight for Havana two days later after college officials and a Congressman intervened on their behalf.

Since October the agency has also opened 264 cases on individuals suspected of traveling to Cuba without government permission. Three of those have been referred to federal law enforcement agencies for criminal investigation.

The agency has also stepped up the issuance of pre-penalty notices that inform an individual accused of violating the travel ban of the penalties to be sought by the government.

Those who receive these notices are informed that the penalty will be imposed unless they make a request within 30 days for a "timely hearing." Some 111 people requested a hearing but in the face of intimidation and threats of fines 63 of them decided in the end to just pay the penalty.

The average threatened fine is \$7,500.

The agency also announced the formation of a "Major Case Squad" to investigate cases of banks and companies conducting "illegal" transactions with Cuban commercial enterprises. The squad's action has resulted in settlements amounting to \$200,000 with 20 of the 60 companies that have received notices of violating the trade embargo against Cuba.

Based on information gleaned from the stepped-up interrogation of passengers, OFAC has suspended the licenses issued to two organizations that travel to Cuba for humanitarian and religious activities. Treasury officials have also taken action to limit the number of days those traveling to Cuba under such licenses are allowed to stay on the island. The licenses of four other groups are under investigation for possible suspension.

U.S. gov't withdraws subpoenas of Iowa peace group

BY JOE SWANSON

DES MOINES, Iowa—Brian Terrell, executive director of Catholic Peace Ministry, opened a February 10 rally here with the announcement that U.S. authorities had dropped their subpoenas of four area peace activists to appear before a grand jury. Terrell is one of the four targeted by the U.S. attorney's office as part of its investigation into antiwar activities held in Iowa last November.

On February 2, Terrell and two other Des Moines peace activists, Patti McKee and Elton Davis, were served subpoenas to appear before a federal grand jury. An officer with the FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force also served a subpoena to Wendy Vasquez, a clerical worker in Des Moines. The four activists said they had been ordered to testify in federal court on February 10 about documents described only as concerning a "possible violation of federal law."

The government's investigation drew nationwide opposition from civil liberties supporters. Speakers at the rally of 150 announced that federal authorities were also withdrawing grand jury subpoenas against Drake University officials. The same day, a federal judge lifted a gag order on Drake University officials, who had been ordered not to discuss the police inquiry into a November 15 meeting of antiwar activists held



Brian Terrell, one of four Iowa peace activists subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury, speaks at February 10 rally in Des Moines.

on campus. Federal authorities had asked for records of the campus chapter of the National Lawyers Guild—which hosted the antiwar conference—and for information campus police had on the gathering.

The day before the rally, the U.S. attorney in Des Moines, Stephen Patrick O'Meara, acknowledged that a secret grand jury investigation was underway. Denying that it was in any way related to "terrorism," O'Meara said the investigation, involved an alleged attempt to enter the fenced, secure perimeter at Camp Dodge, the home of the Iowa National Guard. Federal authorities said the grand jury questioning of peace activists was focused on whether a "prior agreement to violate federal law" was hatched at the November 15 conference.

The day after the conference—called "Stop the Occupation! Bring the Iowa Guard Home!"—activists went to the Iowa National Guard headquarters at Camp Dodge, a few miles north of Des Moines, where 12 people were arrested for trespassing. Ben Stone, executive director of the Iowa Civil Liberties Union, also voiced skepticism at O'Meara's ex-

planation. "If this was just a trespassing investigation, then why seek the records of the National Lawyers Guild?" he asked those at the rally.

According to the *Des Moines Register*, federal officials declined to say why they asked the grand jury to quash the subpoenas. Alvin Overbaugh, spokesman for the U.S. attorney's office in Des Moines, declined to comment Tuesday, other than to say the moves didn't necessarily signal that the investigation had ended.

Judy Lowe, representing Iowa Council 61 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, told those at the rally to "stand up for your beliefs, your rights, and continue the fight." Two Des Moines police detectives videotaped the event from a hotel room across from the federal building. According to the *Register*, "detectives said they were told to monitor the event 'in case someone caused problems.""

Organizers of the rally invited supporters of the peace activists arrested for trespassing to attend their trial, which begins March 22 in Des Moines.

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The Militant

Vol. 68/No. 8

Closing news date: February 17, 2004 Editor: ARGIRIS MALAPANIS Business Manager: MICHAEL ITALIE Washington Bureau Chief: SAM MANUEL Editorial Staff: Róger Calero, Michael Italie, Martín Koppel, Sam Manuel, and Paul Ped-

Published weekly except for one week in January, July, and September.

The Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018. Telephone: (212) 244-4899; Fax (212) 244-4947. **E-mail:** The Militant website is: www.themilitant.com

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to the Militant, 306 W. 37th Street, 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Subscriptions: **United States**: for one-year subscription send \$45 to above address.

Latin America, Caribbean: for one-year subscription send \$65, drawn on a U.S. bank, to above address. By first-class (airmail), send \$80.

Africa, Asia, and the Middle East: Send \$80 drawn on a U.S. bank to above address.

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Bush calls for expanded piracy

Continued from front page

forth last week were all timely and useful and deserve international support. But they do not go far enough."

"In the past, enemies of America required massed armies and great navies, powerful air forces to put our nation, our people, our friends at risk," Bush said in his February 11 address. "In the Cold War, Americans lived under the threat of weapons of mass destruction, but believed that deterrence made those weapons a last resort. What has changed in the 21st century is that in the hands of terrorists, weapons of mass destruction would be a first resort, the preferred means to further their ideology of suicide and random murder."

Bush named the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—whose ships have already been stopped and boarded by French, German, and U.S. forces—and Iran as top targets of this kind of piracy.

"America faces the possibility of catastrophic attack from ballistic weapons armed with weapons of mass destruction," Bush asserted. "So that is why we are developing and deploying missile defenses to guard our people." The missile "defenses" —based on land, at sea, and in space—now under development would be designed to shoot down incoming missiles. Once deployed they would restore to Washington a first-strike nuclear advantage that it has not enjoyed for five decades, since Moscow tested its first atomic bomb.

Bush summarized the justifications used by Washington to dress up its aggressive military policy abroad and attacks on workers rights at home. "Over the last two years," he said, "a great coalition has come together to defeat terrorism and oppose the spread of weapons of mass destruction, the inseparable commitments of the war on terror."

Green light to expanded piracy

"America and the nations of Australia, France and Germany, Italy and Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom have launched the Proliferation Security Initiative to interdict lethal materials in transit," Bush said, adding that the governments of Canada, Singapore, and Norway have also become members.

"Our nations are sharing intelligence information, tracking suspect international cargo, conducting joint military exercises," said the U.S. president. "We're prepared to search planes and ships, to seize weapons and missiles and equipment that raise proliferation concerns." Bush proposed that these actions be expanded to address more than shipments and transfers.

"We can take direct action against proliferation networks," he said, calling for "greater cooperation—not just among intelligence and military services but in law enforcement as well."

After Bush proposed the PSI on the eve of a June summit of the G-7 group of imperialist governments, the 11 founding states met in Paris in September. According to a White House statement on the event, they drew up a plan of action to "combat trafficking to and from states and non-state actors of proliferation concern of weapons of mass destruction, their delivery systems, and related materials."

These proposed measures include the boarding, searching, and seizing of suspect ships or their cargo not only in ports and territorial waters, but also on the high seas. Signatory governments could also "require aircraft that are reasonably suspected of carrying such cargoes...to land for inspection," according to the September 5 White House statement on PSI.

Bush boasted of the interception of the BBC China, a German-owned ship allegedly loaded with parts for centrifuges used in the manufacture of enriched uranium. "After the ship passed through the Suez Canal, bound for Libya," he said, "it was stopped by German and Italian authorities."

Following the seizure, he said, "The United States and Britain confronted Libyan officials with this evidence of an active and illegal nuclear program. About two months ago Libya's leader voluntarily agreed to end his nuclear and chemical weapons programs."

Libyan president Muammar Qaddafi, Bush added, "made the right decision, and the world will be safer once his commitment is fulfilled."

China-Pakistan-Korea 'link'

"We expect other regimes to follow his example," said the U.S. president, exuding imperialist arrogance. Leaving no doubt about who he had in mind, Bush singled out Pyongyang and Tehran, mentioning them repeatedly.

"The government of Iran," he said, "is unwilling to abandon a uranium-enrichment program capable of producing material for nuclear weapons." At the same time, he added, "in the Pacific, North Korea has defied the world, has tested longrange ballistic missiles, admitted its possession of nuclear weapons, and now threatens to build more."

The nuclear programs of both countries, claimed the U.S. president, benefited from the black market in nuclear weapons technology that allegedly revolved around Abdul Qadeer Khan, the top Pakistani nuclear scientist known as the father of Pakistan's nuclear weapons program. Under a government investigation involving the jailing and interrogation of a number of scientists and retired military officers, Khan has confessed to selling and exchanging nuclear secrets. Pakistani president Gen. Pervez Musharraf, who denies any official connection with the trade, promptly pardoned the famous scientist.

"Khan and his associates provided Iran and Libya and North Korea with designs for Pakistan's older centrifuges, as well as designs for more advanced and efficient models," said Bush. "American and British intelligence officers," he said, "shadowed members of the network around the world. They recorded their conversations. They penetrated their operations."

Bush also wagged a warning finger at the Pakistani government. "The government of Pakistan is interrogating the network's members, learning critical details that will help them prevent it from ever operating again," he said. "President Musharraf has promised to share all the information he learns about the Khan network, and has assured us that his country will never again be a source of proliferation." In the aftermath of Bush's speech, the U.S. media began pointing to Beijing as another point on the "illicit" Pakistan-DPRK "nuclear proliferation" axis.

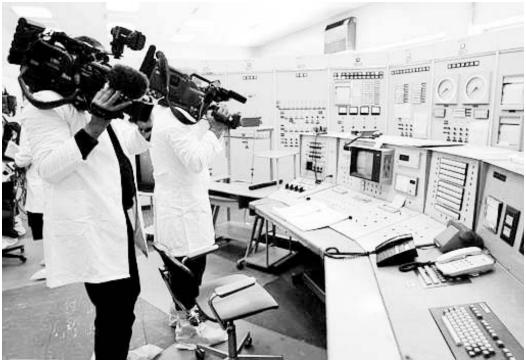
"Libyan arms designs traced back to China," was the headline of a front-page feature article in the Sunday edition of the February 15 Washington Post. "Investigators have discovered that the nuclear weapons designs obtained by Libya through a Pakistani smuggling network originated in China, exposing yet another link in a chain of proliferation that stretched across the Middle East and Asia," the article said. "The bomb designs and other papers turned over by Libya have yielded dramatic evidence of China's long-suspected role in transferring nuclear know-how to Pakistan in the early 1980s.... The Chinese designs were later resold to Libya by a Pakistani-led trading network that is now the focus of an expanding international probe, added the officials and experts, who are based in the United States and Europe."

Earlier in his presentation, Bush mentioned the inquiry into U.S. spy agencies established following statements by former top weapons inspector David Kay. While giving wholehearted support to the U.S.-led invasion and occupation of Iraq, Kay said that shortcomings in U.S. spying operations were to blame for the prewar overestimation of Baghdad's weapons programs.

"The best intelligence is necessary to win the war on terror and to stop proliferation," said Bush. "That is why I have established a commission that will examine our intelligence capabilities and recommend ways to improve and adapt them to detect new and emerging threats."

Use of nonproliferation treaty

In addition to boosting the PSI, Bush laid out a number of other steps to ensure that



Libya's Tajura nuclear reactor being filmed January 26 as part of tour by U.S. congressmen and journalists. The 10-megawatt reactor located near Tripoli is being monitored by the International Atomic Energy Agency. George Bush said that Libyan president Muammar Qaddafi had "made the right decision" in agreeing to end Libya's "nuclear and chemical weapons programs." The U.S. president added arrogantly, "We expect other regimes to follow his example."

nuclear and other weapons remain the monopoly of a handful of governments—most of them in imperialist countries. These steps include the introduction of a resolution before the UN Security Council that would call on all governments to "criminalize proliferation, enact strict export controls, and secure all sensitive materials within their borders"

Bush also vowed to close an alleged "loophole" in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which, he said, is exploited "by nations such as North Korea and Iran. These regimes are allowed to produce nuclear material that can be used to build bombs under the cover of civilian nuclear programs"

He proposed to restrict the production and export of fuel for nuclear power plants to the "40 nations of the Nuclear Suppliers Group." Only governments that "renounce enrichment and reprocessing" would be qualified to buy, he said—and then only if they possess "full-scale functioning enrichment and reprocessing plants," both of which are still under development in the DPRK, Iran, and other countries.

Additional Protocol

"As a fifth step," Bush stated, "I propose that by next year, only states that have signed the Additional Protocol be allowed to import equipment for their civilian nuclear programs." The Additional Protocol to the NPT mandates unannounced and sweeping inspections of all nuclear facilities of a country whose government is a signatory. The Additional Protocol was recently used to begin such inspections in Iran, after Tehran was pressured by European Union powers,

Moscow, and Washington to sign it.

The impact of such measures, noted the *New York Times*, would be to restrict "the production of nuclear fuel to a few nations."

One who spoke in support of the measures in the pages of the big-business daily was International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) director general Mohamed El Baradei. In the editorial, titled "Saving Ourselves from Self-Destruction," El Baradei said that the U.S. president's proposal to remove the so-called loopholes and "tighten controls over the export of nuclear material" was "common sense."

"Much effort was recently expended—and rightly so—in persuading Iran and Libya to give the International Atomic Energy Agency much broader rights of inspection," wrote El Baradei. "But the agency should have the right to conduct such inspections in all countries."

Washington: no. 1 nuclear menace

Unlike Bush, El Baradei felt compelled to make at least a passing mention of the need for a "major reduction" by the "five nuclear states recognized under the nonproliferation treaty." These five—Paris, London, Washington, Beijing, and Moscow—possess the vast majority of the 30,000 nuclear warheads that are still in existence, according to the IAEA official.

Of the five, Washington possesses far and away the largest arsenal and is in a race to further upgrade it, conducting intensive research into new variants, from battlefield "bunker-busting" bombs tailored for north Korea's underground defenses, to the so-called missile defense shield.

Tokyo passes bill tightening squeeze on north Korea

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

In the buildup to six-party talks in Beijing scheduled for February 25, the government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) protested a bill adopted by the Japanese Diet, or parliament, that threatens the north Korean people with further economic sanctions.

The law passed January 29 would give Tokyo the power to stop transfers of money and goods to the DPRK. The London-based *Guardian* noted that although the legislation covers "any country seen as a threat to Japan's 'peace and stability'...few doubt that North Korea is the prime target." The bill is likely to be approved by Japan's upper house of parliament too, according to the *Guardian*.

The bill will threaten "peace and security on the Korean peninsula and escalate military tension in the region," responded the DPRK government, according to the official Korean News Agency.

A few days later Washington and Pyongyang announced that they will meet at the end of February for talks in Beijing. Also present will be government representatives of Japan, south Korea, China, and Russia. During the negotiations the U.S. government will pressure Pyongyang to do away with its nuclear weapons program.

"We're looking for a round that can move toward the goals of verifiable elimination of North Korea's nuclear weapons programs," said Richard Boucher, a spokesman for the U.S. State Department, making it clear that Washington wants to see concessions from the DPRK, and that he expects a similar stance from other negotiators.

Allegations and threats toward north Korea have been at the center of the recent revelations about the alleged sale of nuclear weapons secrets by Pakistani scientists. U.S. officials and their Pakistani counterparts claim that north Korea, Iran, and Libya were the most important purchasers of Pakistani technology, and that the DPRK in turn provided ballistic missile technology to Pakistan.

The Associated Press reported February 11 that Pakistani president Pervez Musharraf had promised to "share information on black market deals that allegedly moved nuclear know-how to North Korea, data that could give other countries a better idea of the communist nation's atomic

Musharraf said that the information would be handed to Tokyo, Korea's former colonial master.

Róger Calero speaks at Havana meetings

Continued from front page

Ocel, secretary of the Union of Young Communists (UJC) at the campus.

Nancy Coro, from the international relations department of the UJC, introduced Calero to the meeting. She explained some of the facts of his case, and Calero gave more details.

In late November 2002 Calero went on a reporting trip to Havana to cover an international conference on the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and then to Guadalajara, Mexico, to cover a congress of the Continental Organization of Latin American and Caribbean Students (OCLAE). On his return home, immigration cops arrested him at the Houston airport, threw him in jail, and began proceedings to deport him to Nicaragua, his country of birth.

Through a broad international campaign in defense of Calero, immigration authorities were flooded with protest messages, and they released him from jail after 10 days. Although Calero has been a permanent resident of the United States for more than a decade, immigration officials sought to deport him on the pretext of a 1988 conviction in which, while still in high school in Los Angeles, he had copped a plea on a charge of selling an ounce of marijuana to an undercover cop at school. Immigration officials had waived this conviction both when they first granted him legal residency and when they later renewed it.

As part of the defense campaign, Calero spoke at public meetings in more than 20 cities, explaining his fight and winning support. On May 22 of last year an immigration judge declared him "not deportable" and the government threw in the towel.

Calero's case won substantial international support, including in Cuba. Members of Cuban youth organizations that participated in the OCLAE conference in Guadalajara, which Calero had covered for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, took special interest in the defense campaign.

When Calero returned to Havana to cover this year's January 26-29 international conference on the FTAA and then the Havana International Book Fair, leaders of the UJC and of the Federation of University Students (FEU) here arranged speaking engagements for him at the Lenin School of Science and the University of Havana. He also spoke at a meeting organized by the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution. Calero was interviewed by

"Many working people—both immigrants as well as U.S.-born workers—identified with my case," Calero said. "The support won in the fight against my deportation is an expression of the resistance among working people in the United States to the attacks by the employer class—their offensive to speed up production at the expense of safety and health, eliminate jobs, slash wages, and cut health care and other social benefits." He gave examples of recent working-class struggles, from demonstrations

in California demanding the right to a driver's license for immigrants, to protests in several cities against police violence, as well as strikes and union-organizing drives among meat packers in the Midwest, construction workers in New York, miners at the Co-Op coal mine in Utah, and garment workers in Miami.

Interest in U.S. working-class struggles

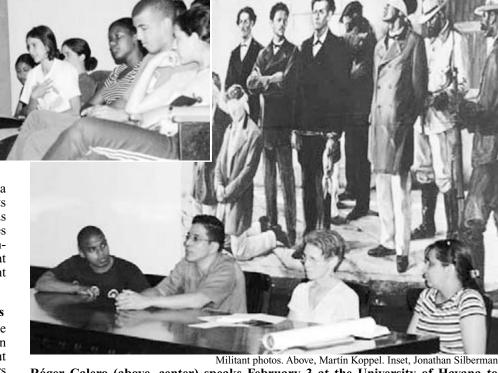
Some students had heard about the strike by 70,000 grocery workers in Southern California. Few had heard about the union-organizing battle by coal miners in Huntington, Utah, or other struggles. "I found your presentation very helpful. We didn't know much about how workers in the United States have fought for their rights," said Luz Marlis Saramé, 17.

In reply to Eric González's question, Calero said the estimated 8 million to 12 million undocumented workers in the United States were part of a historic wave of immigration from Latin America, Africa, and Asia. "The millions coming from other countries have strengthened the working class in the United States, broadening the horizons of our class and breaking down prejudices the employers use to keep us divided," he said.

Campus UJC leader Ocel said the image he'd had of the labor movement in the United States was one of mafia-run company unions under conditions similar to those of the 1950s witch-hunt. He said he had been unaware of the character of working-class resistance that Calero had described.

The students asked Calero about his views on a range of questions, from the FTAA to the nature of the current Peronist government in Argentina.

Calero also spoke briefly to a second group of students at the school, where the



Róger Calero (above, center) speaks February 3 at the University of Havana to leaders of Union of Communist Youth (UJC) and Federation of University Students. From right: Nancy Coro from UJC International Relations Department; Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press; and an FEU leader at University of Havana. Inset: Luz Marlis Saramé, 17, a high school student, speaks after hearing Calero the same day at the Lenin School of Science, a boarding school for pre-university students in grades 10–12 in Havana.

and UJC in the philosophy, law, math, and other university departments. Students asked questions not only about Calero's fight but also about U.S. politics. A couple of students asked about the state of the trade unions in the United States. They had recently read in the Cuban press that fewer than 13 percent of workers in the United States belong to trade unions.

Calero explained that the unions in the United States continue to be weakened by the employer offensive and the unwillingness of the union officialdom to lead the kind of fights necessary to effectively take on the bosses and their government. What don't appear in government statistics and the news media, he noted, are the changes in attitudes among working people, the growing hunger for solidarity as more workers and farmers seek ways to fight and search for allies in struggle.

Meeting with revolutionary combatants

Calero elaborated on this point at a February 9 meeting of nearly 80 sponsored by the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution, the Combatientes. He described how workers at the Co-Op coal mine in Utah, mostly Mexican-born miners, had surprised the bosses by going on strike and fighting for recognition of a local of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). "A delegation of miners from Co-Op was invited to attend the national convention of the miners union," Calero said. "A leader of the strike addressed the delegates in Spanish, with simultaneous translation—possibly the first time that has happened at a UMWA convention.

People in the audience at the Combatientes meeting intently followed Calero's description of conditions facing workers in the United States and the spreading proletarian resistance. Many of them had experienced firsthand the brutality of capitalist exploitation in Cuba before the 1959 revolutionary victory here. They had fought in the Cuban revolutionary war as members of the Rebel Army and July 26 Movement, which led Cuban workers and farmers to overthrow the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship and take power themselves.

The Combatants Association organizes Cubans who have taken part in revolutionary struggles and internationalist missions, from the revolutionary war of the 1950s to the fight against U.S.-organized counterrevolutionary attacks in the Escambray mountains of Cuba in the early 1960s, to the mobilization of 300,000 Cuban volunteer combatants in Angola in the 1970s and 1980s to defeat the South African apartheid army.

After the presentation, the discussion continued informally. One member of the Combatants Association said he was stunned to hear that more than 2 million people were behind bars in the U.S. prison

system and wanted more information on how the police, courts, and prisons are used against working people there.

This militant and others were interested to find some of this information in the pamphlet *The Working Class and the Transformation of Learning* by Jack Barnes. After the meeting many purchased titles on a range of topics from a table displaying Pathfinder books and pamphlets.

Later that evening, Calero was interviewed on the *Lente Mundial* (World Lens) television program. That night's show focused on conditions facing immigrants in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany. Calero, who appeared live on the program, was asked by host Daisy Gómez to comment on the U.S. government's immigration policy, including the new White House "guest worker" proposal, and on recent struggles for the rights of immigrants.

At the various meetings where Róger Calero spoke, many expressed appreciation for the facts he presented. Their response was captured by the comment of a student at the Lenin School of Science. "We often hold seminars here to discuss different aspects of the situation in the world," she said. "But they are sometimes very theoretical and abstract. What we heard from you about the situation in the United States was very concrete and real."

Help fund 'Militant' reporting trip to Cuba

Róger Calero and Martín Koppel, editors of Perspectiva Mundial, Alex Alvarado, a Militant correspondent from Miami, and Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the Marxist magazine New International are among the Militant/PM reporters currently in Cuba. The article above by these reporters on Róger Calero speaking at meetings in Havana will be followed by further coverage on the Havana international book fair and on other political developments in Cuba. The fruits of such reporting teams include the two-part series on the radical reorganization of Cuba's sugar industry published in the February 9 and February 16 issues of the *Militant* and the February and March issues of PM.

The costs of this reporting trip amount to \$16,000. Please send your contribution to the *Militant* at the address on page 2 and earmark it "Travel Fund."



Militant/Bjorn T

Róger Calero, nearest the podium, speaks February 9 to members of the Association of Combatants of the Cuban Revolution at the National House of the Combatant in Havana. To his left are Martín Koppel, editor of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and Iraida Aguirrechu, current affairs editor of Editora Política.

the UJC newspaper *Juventud Rebelde*, the weekly *Granma International*, and a popular evening television news program.

"What I faced when the government arrested me after a trip abroad and tried to deport me was something that thousands of immigrant workers in the United States face every year," Calero told the students at the Lenin high school. "It's an example of how the U.S. employers and their government seek to keep an entire, expanding layer of the working class intimidated and deprive them of basic rights in order to increase the rate of profit and promote divisions among our class.

discussion focused on the class nature of the education system under capitalism and, in contrast, on the efforts in revolutionary Cuba today, under the banner of the Battle of Ideas, to expand access to education and culture.

UJC leaders later explained to Calero that they are now organizing political meetings such as this one in the high schools as part of an effort to deepen the UJC's political work among young people.

The same day, at the University of Havana, some 40 students came to hear Calero. Most were leaders of the FEU

Co-Op miners speak to Utah students

BY GUILLERMO ESQUIVEL

SALT LAKE CITY—On February 3, a panel discussion on the Co-Op miners' struggle drew over 100 students and others at the University of Utah. Two of the miners on strike for a union, Ana María Sánchez and Bill Estrada, spoke. Other panelists included Rowena Erickson, cofounder of Tapestry Against Polygamy and a former member of the Kingston polygamous clan, which owns the Co-Op mine, and Susie Porter, a history professor at the university.

"We are fighting for respect and dignity," said Sánchez, one of the three women miners at CW Mining, also known as Co-Op. There are no separate locker room or bathroom facilities for the women miners, she explained. She also said it is not uncommon for miners to keep working with fractured arms and legs under conditions imposed by the mine owners. "We have stayed firm for the past four and a half months," she told the assembled students and others, "and we intend to stay firm, but this will only be possible with the help and solidarity of people like you." Sánchez earned \$5.25 an hour at Co-Op mine separating rock from coal.

"This is not only a fight for the 75 of us or for miners alone. Our strike for union recognition with the United Mine Workers of America is taking up issues that face all working people," explained Estrada, who earned \$5.75 an hour as an underground maintenance worker.

"Safety is an important issue," said Estrada. "Three of the last six deaths in coal mines in Utah have taken place at Co-Op, and most accidents go unreported. At Co-Op the company makes deductions from your pay if you report an accident or damage equipment." He added that the federal agency in charge of inspecting mine safety, the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA), has issued a number of citations against the owners of the mine recently only because numerous miners have provided the agency with testimony on unsafe working conditions and lack of proper mine training.

Rowena Erickson, a former "plural wife" in the Kingston family, applauded the mostly Mexican immigrant miners for "being the ones to finally stand up to the Kingstons and say, 'this is enough!'"

"The Kingstons exploit their own people as well as Mexican immigrant workers," Erickson explained, noting that one of the miners to die at the Co-Op mine was Samuel Jenkins, a member of the clan. Jenkins died underground when he was run over by a coal hauler in 1997.

Erickson said the Kingstons would be



Militant / Lisa Rottach

OMAHA, NEBRASKA—People at Our Lady of Guadalupe church in Omaha sign solidarity message and donate to Co-Op strike February 28. The appeal was started by six workers at Swift meatpacking company.

—LISA ROTTACH

scared if they found out she is siding with the miners since she knows about their illegal dealings. "They cheat on paying their employees and file fraudulent reports concerning accidents and deaths both in the mine and in their many other enterprises," she said. Erickson also stated that "the Co-Op mine is the biggest moneymaker" in their \$150 million business empire spread across six western states.

The meeting was sponsored by a number of campus organizations and university departments, including the Student Labor

Action Project (SLAP), University Not in Our Name, Campus Committee for Peace and Justice, and the university's economics and social work departments, and the Gender Studies program.

"People are inspired by the strength and resistance that the Co-Op miners have shown," said Patrick Beecroft of SLAP, the moderator of the meeting. "It's remarkable how much support we are getting on campus and in the community for the miners." He reported that more than \$400 was raised at the meeting to back the union fight.

Urgent collection needed in home stretch of HQ appeal

BY NORTON SANDLER

HOUSTON—As the two-month-long effort to raise \$225,000 for the construction of a new international headquarters for the communist movement enters its final 10 days, new contributions are still being raised across the country from Newark, New Jersey, to Houston, Texas, to San Francisco, California. This includes a few new contributions of \$1,000 and more. They are needed.

The fund now stands at \$222,000 in pledges with \$190,000 of that figure collected as the *Militant* goes to press. A concentrated effort will have to be organized in every area to ensure that the outstanding pledges are collected and the local goals adopted are reached by the February 29 deadline. We urge the readers of the *Militant* who have not yet made a contribution to make one, and those who are in a position to do so, to increase the amount they

contribute to this special effort.

The 2004 Headquarters Appeal raises funds to cover costs for the construction of a new international center for the communist movement in Manhattan's Garment District. The center will house the Socialist Workers Party national office, the newsroom for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, along with the new Pathfinder bookstore and a hall for the Militant Labor Forum.

This special effort will culminate in a Red Weekend and Grand Opening February 28-29. Over those two days volunteers will finish any remaining construction and cap off the weekend with a meeting that will feature talks by leaders of the communist movement. (See ad on front page.) We urge you to join us in celebrating the completion of this impressive effort.

The money from the Headquarters Appeal has been spent as it has come in,

allowing this project to remain on its tight schedule every week since construction was initiated at the beginning of January.

Paul Mailhot, one of the organizers of the volunteer work crew, reported in a telephone interview that the electrical work in the new headquarters is complete and the carpet has now been laid in the new Pathfinder bookstore and in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* newsroom. In fact, reference materials, file cabinets, and some furniture used by the staff of these periodicals has already been moved into that space. The entire move of the office will be completed by February 18 so that the next issue of the *Militant* will be produced in the newly constructed quarters.

The installation of new double-pane windows that will greatly reduce the noise and help hold down air conditioning costs during the summer months began on February 17. The new shelves are up in the bookstore, Mailhot reported, and work is going into finishing the tables and partitions that will be used there.

The final push is now on to complete the painting of the section of the headquarters where the SWP offices will be located. Mailhot said carpet will be laid there on February 18

Work will continue on raising contributions to the Headquarters Appeal right up until the February 29 deadline.

During the past week, Dave Prince from New York visited both Washington, D.C. and Newark, to reinforce efforts underway there. Similarly, Dennis Richter from San Francisco and this reporter from New York visited Houston. Over the next several days visits \$225,000
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will be organized to additional cities.

Final payments can be hand-delivered in New York during the February 28-29 Red Weekend and Grand Opening. Contributions should be made out to the 2004 Headquarters Building Appeal and sent c/o SWP National Office, 306 W. 37th St., 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.

Florida garment workers celebrate one-year anniversary of victory in union organizing drive



Militant/Steve Wolf

OAKLAND PARK, Florida—Workers at Point Blank Body Armor gather outside the plant February 10 to share cake and celebrate the one-year anniversary of their victory in a six-month strike in defense of the UNITE union. The unionists took down their picket line after the National Labor Relations Board ordered the company to rehire three fired union activists and take back strikers. In addition to the cake and rally, they marked the anniversary by distributing scores of hand-made miniature brooms with a red ribbon reading, "Happy Anniversary Feb. 10 2003—Feb. 10, 2004 Broom Day." Raquel Chavez said, "We call it Broom Day because when we came back into work after the strike, they gave us all brooms and made us clean up the plant." While complying with the order, Point Blank still refuses to recognize UNITE and has appealed NLRB rulings that ordered it to fork out back pay and cease harassing unionists.

—STEVE WOLF



Militant/Paul Pederson

Volunteers stock reference shelves in new 'Militant' and 'PM' newsroom February 16

'Pathfinder publishes books indispensable to competent guidance of revolutionary activity'

Pathfinder Press president speaks at publishers meeting during Havana book fair

Below we are printing remarks by Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, to a February 10 meeting of more than 100 editors, publishers, and other guests organized as part of the public program of the 13th Havana International Book Fair. The panel on which Waters participated was organized by Ciencias Sociales, a Havana-based social sciences publishing house. It was chaired by Rolando González Patricio, director of the José Martí Studies Center. Also speaking were Eduardo Torres Cuevas, a Cuban historian and director of the Fernando Ortiz Center for Advanced Studies at the University of Havana, and Andrea Vlahusic from Buenos Aires, Argentina, a member of the executive secretariat of the Latin American Council on Social Sciences. Waters was asked to open the panel presentations with her remarks on Pathfinder Press. Copyright © 2004 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

On behalf of Pathfinder Press, a thank you to the organizers of the 2004 Havana International Book Fair and to the compañeros of Ciencias Sociales for the opportunity to participate in this exchange among editors and publishers. It is too seldom we're able to do this outside of Cuba.

To initiate the discussion, we have each been asked to say a few words about the titles, topics, and authors we publish, how we respond to the demands imposed by today's world, what guides our editorial decisions, and how we meet the pressures of the capitalist world market within which none of us avoid operating.

It might be most useful to concentrate on a couple of the concrete criteria that guide Pathfinder's publishing efforts and for the most part distinguish Pathfinder from other publishers.

Born with October Revolution

Several years ago, based on a presentation to a similar conference here in Havana



Meeting of editors and publishers held February 10 as part of Havana International Book Fair. From left: Andrea Vlahusic of Latin American Council on Social Sciences (CLACSO); Rolando González, chair of meeting and director of José Martí Studies Center; Mary-Alice Waters (speaking); and Eduardo Torres Cuevas, Cuban historian and director of Fernando Ortiz Center for Advanced Studies.

hosted by Editora Abril, we published a pamphlet entitled Pathfinder Was Born with the October Revolution. I hope some of you have had, or will have, an opportunity to glance at that little work, which is available in Spanish, French, and English here at the Pathfinder booth. It explains more broadly and more fully than I will be able to today the main lines of our publishing efforts.

When we say "Pathfinder was born with the October Revolution," we are pointing to the continuity that has underpinned the editorial policies of Pathfinder and our predecessors for almost eighty-five years. We do not begin by looking for titles or subjects that some entity in the increasingly monopolized capitalist book trade might profit from and would thus promote. Nor do we keep in print only those titles we know we can sell hundreds or thousands of copies of in a relatively brief time. As we explain in Pathfinder Was Born with the October Revolution:

We have one and only one objective: to publish and distribute as widely as possible the books, pamphlets, and magazines that are necessary to advance the construction of a communist party in the United States, an objective that is inseparable from the building of a communist movement internationally.

A good example is Rebelión Teamster by Farrell Dobbs, one of the new titles Pathfinder is featuring here at the book fair. First published in English some 30 years ago, it is now available in Spanish for the first time. It is the story of one of the most important strikes and trade union organizing drives of the 1930s, told by a central leader of that fight, a young man still in his twenties when this class war broke out. Through the battles they waged, the labor movement in an entire region of the country was transformed—from Seattle to Minneapolis, from Minneapolis to Oklahoma and Texas. A union with a conscious, class-struggle leadership was born, and a broad, fighting social movement that unified workers, farmers, and the unemployed was forged.

The significance of that history lies not in the past, but in what is happening in the United States today and—even more so-what is coming. The economic and social conditions we face in the world today bear increasing similarities to the overheated financial bubbles, underlying capitalist stagnation, sharpening trade conflicts, increasingly violent verbal assaults among capitalist politicians, and imperialist offensives that culminated in the Great Depression and brutal struggles of the 1930s. In this world, the example set by the Minneapolis Teamsters becomes more important each day—what they did; how they fought; how they recognized limits, reorganized, and regrouped; how they were seen in wider and wider circles as incorruptible and selfless; and how, as a result of all this, they were

Driven by the inexorable workings of capital to sell their labor power wherever they might, the ranks of Spanish-speaking workers from across the Americas swell by the hour in the United States. More and more from New Jersey to Florida, from Minnesota to California and Utah, these workers—no longer concentrated in the large metropolitan centers and agricultural fields, but working in every industry and living even in the smallest towns—are engaged in increasingly sharp battles with the bosses and the bosses' government. They *need* this history, this example of what is possible, including in the United States, when the working class has the leadership it deserves.

Voluntary labor and financing

Rebelión Teamster will not be a "profitable" book by any capitalist yardstick. Its initial print run is fewer than 1,000 copies. And Pathfinder, moreover, is not a "profitable" enterprise. It survives only through contributions—of volunteer labor, as well as of funds necessary to produce and distribute the books—from those in the working-class movement and others who share Pathfinder's goals. And it's largely the very same people who contribute on both fronts.

As Che Guevara explained in such depth and detail, however, "profitability" is not a category the proletariat can use to decide the allocation of labor and resources necessary to advance its goals.

Health care, education, social security, broad working-class access to culture "goods" such as these are not compatible with a dog-eat-dog system driven by the whip of profit and the production and reproduction of the social relations demanded by private property. The contrast between Cuba on the one hand and the United States on the other is today demonstrating this to the world; they are truly antipodes.

All the more reason, of course, for a publishing house like Pathfinder to pay close attention to holding down costs and to constantly pursue ways to produce books, pamphlets, and other needed materials with a more effective use of resources and available technology. To keep the books rolling off the presses and into the hands of those who need them, however, we count on the disciplined effort by Pathfinder's supporters, not "efficiency" in the capitalist sense. Over the last six years Pathfinder has been engaged in an intensive and systematic effort, organized worldwide, to recreate all our 400-some titles in digital form: text, formatting, photo sections, maps and other

graphics, covers everything-including the tail and the squeal! Every file necessary to reproduce a book, all on a single CD for each title. This transformation has enabled us to have our books produced by printers that utilize the newest digital printing technology, which is more like a high-end photocopying process, using toner in place of inks. This process makes frequent small runs of 50, 100, 500, up to 1,000 copies possible. Among other things, the digitization of this revolutionary political arsenal means that should conditions preclude for a time the publication of these

FOR FURTHER READING

ALDABONAZO: INSIDE THE CUBAN REVOLUTIONARY UNDERGROUND 1952–58

by Armando Hart

In this firsthand account by one of the historic leaders of the Cuban Revolution, we meet many of the men and women who in the 1950s led the urban underground in the fight against the brutal U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. Together with their comrades-in-arms of the Rebel Army, they not only brought down the tyranny, their revolutionary actions and example world-

wide changed the history of the 20th century—and the century to come. Now ready for shipment!

\$20 special offer for Pathfinder Readers Club members!

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF LEARNING: THE FRAUD OF EDUCATION REFORM UNDER CAPITALISM

"Until society is reorganized so that education is a human activity from the time we are very young until the time we die, there will be no education worthy of working, creating humanity."—Jack Barnes \$3.00

REBELIÓN TEAMSTER by Farrell Dobbs

Now in Spanish for the first time! New introduction by Jack Barne 20 pages of photos

Armando Hart

The 1934 strikes that built the union movement in Minneapolis and helped pave the way for the CIO, recounted by a central leader of that battle. The first in a four-volume series on the class-struggle leadership of the strike and organizing drives that transformed the Teamsters union in much of

the Midwest into a fighting social movement, \$19.00

\$16 special offer for Pathfinder Readers Club members!

PATHFINDER WAS BORN WITH THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION



by Mary-Alice Waters

"Revolutionary-minded workers and farmers, and youth attracted toward them, don't primarily need interpreters or intermediaries," Waters explains. "They need the words of revolutionists themselves, presented accurately and completely, translated honestly and clearly, plus the glossaries, maps and other materials useful to a reader today who lives in another time and place. That's what Pathfinder does." \$3.00

ORDER ONLINE AT:

WWW.PATHFINDERPRESS.COM



Printing Project volunteers from United States and Canada (above) refine skills at October 2002 workshop on preparation of digital files for Pathfinder books. One finished product, a CD-ROM of Eugene V. Debs Speaks (inset), contains all the files necessary to reproduce this classic almost anywhere. "Without the multi-faceted work and financial support of the international volunteers movement," says Waters, "what others think of as Pathfinder Press could not exist."

books and pamphlets in North America, they could be printed virtually anywhere in the world.

This entire effort, now more than 75 percent complete, has been organized by a team of more than 200 volunteers spread around the world in ten different countries—and even more time zones!—working together across the Internet.

Both the volunteer labor organized through the international Pathfinder Printing Project and the financial support that sustains this publishing effort are truly "priceless."

I want to emphasize one thing, without which nothing I've explained makes sense. Not only do the Pathfinder volunteers do all the work necessary to prepare every completed manuscript for printing. Their financial contributions cover all the costs of that work. What comes back to Pathfinder from the sale of books and pamphlets barely covers the costs of printing and shipping. Fewer than half a dozen people work fulltime for Pathfinder. And those who direct and do the final editorial work on all titles simultaneously shoulder multiple other political responsibilities. Without this enormous international volunteer effort that I have described, what others think of as Pathfinder Press could not exist.

www.pathfinderpress.com

One final point on "markets" and sales. Another advance for Pathfinder in the last few years has been the use of the Internet as a vehicle for sales. Our entire catalog is now to be found at www.pathfinderpress.com—and only there. Stores or libraries placing orders for Pathfinder books can do so by going to our web site—not by mail, fax, or phone. That's how we handle all "mail orders" by individuals as well. The only exception we



Militant/Terri Moss

As workers engage in "increasingly sharp battles with the bosses and the bosses' government, they are the ones who *need* the history" contained in Pathfinder books, says Waters. During December 13 day of solidarity with coal miners striking CW Mining in Huntington, Utah, striker stands at picket line (above) with banner listing support from United Mine Workers of America, unionists in Salt Lake City, and others (see page 5 for article on strike).

make is for prisoners. But even if we didn't do that, I'm sure our five Cuban brothers, Gerardo [Hernández], Antonio [Guerrero], Ramón [Labañino], René [González], and Fernando [González], would find a way!

Once an order is placed through pathfinderpress.com, the processing and shipping, just like the production of the books, is organized entirely by volunteer labor. That's how libraries and retailers, including Pathfinder bookstores in more than 30 cities and towns around the world, get their books. And that's how new ones are introduced to these books. This policy too is driven by necessity, not the search for profits. Pathfinder must have a pattern of sales and distribution that is sustainable, one that minimizes the transfer of our limited resources to the capitalist distributors whose business practices are crafted to maximize that drain, directed toward bankrupting us,

This transformation of our production and distribution over the last half decade has entailed a substantial allocation of leadership time and resources that has affected the scope of our editorial production. But the results are giving Pathfinder maximum flexibility to meet the radically changing conditions of our world today.

Books by revolutionary leaders

The second issue I want to address are

the criteria that guide us in deciding what authors to publish, what subjects we give priority to.

Pathfinder is not the publishing house of a political party. It is run by a board of directors whose members are known and respected for their own writings and editorial and political work. What guides our decisions are the criteria that have guided the modern workers movement for more than a century and a half, first presented by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto. Pathfinder gives priority to the speeches and writings of leaders who are on the front lines of revolutionary struggles of the toilers the world over, those who speak and write with a sharp and critical mind from within those ranks.

Pathfinder is not the publisher of "critics" and "analysts" who abound on the left and whose essays are sometimes witty and almost always a touch cynical. We seek to publish proletarian leaders for whom criticism is the by-product of revolutionary practice, a weapon earned and wielded in the unceasing effort to advance along the road of the class struggle—toward the workers' and peasants' own government, own country, and own revolution. In short, toward the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx accurately described *Capital* as a handbook for workers, a critique of the capitalist system—and a critique of the critics of capitalism, as well as apologists for it—that would arm us in our struggles. It's the best example I can think of. It was intended to be used by workers.

That's the same reason Pathfinder uses our scarce resources to publish not only Fidel and Che, but men and women whose entire life trajectory embodies the heart and soul of the Cuban Revolution, revolutionists such as José Ramón Fernández, Harry

Villegas (Pombo), Teté Puebla, Víctor Dreke, Néstor López Cuba, and Enrique Carreras. That is why we publish Grenadian revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop, Malcolm X, and Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso; V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and Rosa Luxemburg; and leaders of the U.S. communist movement like James P. Cannon and Farrell Dobbs.

That's why we produce new titles indispensable for the competent guidance of revolutionary activity in today's world, titles such as *The Changing Face of U.S. Politics* and *Cuba and the Coming American Revolution* by Jack Barnes, and issues of a magazine of Marxist politics and theory, *New International*, in English, Spanish, and French.

The impeccable accuracy, honesty, and transparency we strive to maintain in our translations serves this same end. Without it there can be no

genuine exchange of ideas and experiences as equals among those who speak different languages. The same is true of the care we give to other editorial questions—from proofreading to fact-checking to the preparation of annotation, glossaries, chronologies, photo captions, and maps. For us, this care is a class question, one that flows from the same need of those on the front lines of revolutionary struggle to be able to share, discuss, and assimilate the lessons of our common struggles.

For me, these are the same as the issues at the center of the revolutionary measures to transform learning and expand access to the greatest conquests of humanity's cultural heritage—the process that began in the Sierras, exploded to world attention and admiration as the Cuban Revolution launched and advanced the literacy campaign, and is continuing today under the banner of the Battle of Ideas.

Cuba in today's world

Let me close with a few words on the place of the Cuban Revolution in the world today, and therefore in Pathfinder's publishing priorities. We start from the world, from the class struggle as it actually unfolds, not from preconceived notions, and not from our druthers.

The other new title that Pathfinder is presenting here in Havana, published at

'Aldabonazo' launching a featured event at closing of Havana International Book Fair



Militant/Bjorn Tirsér

HAVANA, Cuba—The presentation of Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952–58, by Armando Hart, recently published in Spanish and English editions by Pathfinder Press, was one of the featured events of the closing day of the Havana International Book Fair. Hart, a central leader of the revolutionary movement that in January 1959 overthrew the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship in Cuba, was the main speaker at the February 15 event, attended by some 150 people. Also speaking at the meeting were Mary-Alice Waters, the book's editor and author of the publisher's preface; Héctor Rodríguez Llompart, who was a leader of the July 26 Movement in Havana during the struggle against the Batista regime; Joan Cabo, president of the Federation of University Students (FEU); and Eliades Acosta, director of the José Martí National Library and author of the preface to the U.S. edition of the book. The event was broadly covered by TV and radio. Full coverage will appear in next week's Militant.

—MARTÍN KOPPEL

the same time in both English and Spanish, is *Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952–58* by Armando Hart. It is an account of the political battles and revolutionary action led by cadres of the July 26 Movement in cities and towns across Cuba, as they simultaneously organized support, supplies, and reinforcements for the Rebel Army in the Sierra. Together, under the leadership of Fidel Castro, these forces forged a united revolutionary movement capable of leading Cuba to a victory that opened the door to Cuba's socialist transformation and a quarter century of revolution in the Americas.

Aldabonazo joins some 70 other titles related to the Cuban Revolution that Pathfinder maintains in print, many of which you may be familiar with. Our purpose, however, is not to become a "Cuba" publisher. It is to bring the Cuban Revolu-

tion into sharp focus as part of the world. Those everywhere, including in the United States, who are trying to advance along a class-struggle road *need* the writings and speeches of the men and women who made—and make—that revolution, explaining firsthand what they did, why they did it, and how they emerged victorious. That is our priority. All other questions related to Cuba pale before it.

It is the revolutionary victory that we must understand in order to emulate its lessons, *today*, in *today's* world. Thus for us, defense of the Cuban Revolution is not a question of solidarity, but of necessity. Proletarian internationalism is not a luxury, nor even solely a moral obligation. It is the question of our very future, the future of productive and creative humanity.

Above all, we hope that the facts and trajectory of our publishing efforts reflect this reality and advance that goal.

Further Reading From Pathfinder

From the Escambray to the CongoIn the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution



by Victor Dreke
In this participant's account, Victor Dreke describes how easy it became after the Cuban Revolution to take down the rope segregating Blacks from whites in the town square, yet how enormous was the

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but from proletarian movements springing from the actual class struggle. \$3.95

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Trotsky: workers need their own newspaper

Printed below are excerpts from letters by Leon Trotsky on the importance of the working-class press. They are from *Writings of Leon Trotsky: Supplement* (1929–33), one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for February.

The book contains Trotsky's correspondence with supporters of the Left Opposition around the world as they fought to defend the continuity of the Russian Revolution and its leadership, against the bureaucratic counterrevolution led by Joseph Stalin. It is part of a 14-volume series of Trotsky's writings covering the period 1929–40.

Several references may be unfamiliar to readers. The CLA was the Communist League of America, the U.S. organization founded by leaders of the Communist Party expelled for defending the Left Opposition. When Trotsky writes about the "party" he is referring to the Communist Party. *Unser*

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

Wort and La Verite were the newspapers of the Left Opposition groups in Germany and France, respectively.

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BY LEON TROTSKY

Our French press October 22, 1929

Dear Comrade Gerard:

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No news from you. We rejoice here each week on receiving La Verite. The general impression that it gives, which is inevitable at first, is that the paper is still rather distant from the masses, too journalistic, not sufficiently proletarian and political. The first thing is to know what is going on in the working class, in the unions, and above all in the party. It is necessary at all costs to find or create links with party circles. I think the lack of contact or information can be explained by a certain tradition in the Opposition which consisted not only of denigrating, but also of ignoring, of not interesting oneself in what was happening in the party or around it. Thus "The Week in Politics," which is well done journalistically, would profit greatly if its first item each week were devoted to some episode or event in the life of the workers or the party....

October 31, 1929

La Verite is improving visibly. We see that the articles are for the most part written with care and attention.

November 21, 1929

Dear Comrade Gerard:

Yesterday I received your letter of November 5 with the electoral statistics [for legislative and municipal elections from 1924–1929]. I thank you very warmly. Now I am armed....

In the article on the English movement, there is a theoretical mistake. The author says: "The capitalists who sell the wage earners their products take back with the left hand what they offered with the right. Under these conditions profit is impossible..."

It follows from this that profit is not created in production, but in commerce. Even if society were composed of nothing by capitalists and workers, without foreign trade, profit would exist.

The weekly comes first

Feb. 10, 1932

To the National Committee, CLA

Dear Comrades,

I notice from your decision that you are planning to make a theoretical organ a reality. In order to eliminate possible misunderstandings, I consider it necessary to

state that you should not at all consider yourselves bound in this question, because at the time when I wrote you about a subsidy for a theoretical organ, we did not yet have the terrible crisis and the existence of *The Militant* was not yet threatened. Please dispose of the sum as you yourselves see fit. It would be very regrettable to establish a theoretical organ at the cost of the weekly *Militant*.

We must have a discussion on Germany April 3, 1933

The question of *Unser Wort* should be decided as soon as possible. A letter from Held arrived yesterday. He complains that there is not one bit of news from Berlin, and that he had to put together an entire issue from my articles. This will not do of course. First of all, one should provide the publication with good political correspondents, broad information, and on-the-spot exposes.

Tasks of the coming plenum

April 12, 1933

Dear Friend:

I think it is absolutely wrong to send

money to Germany from outside. Such small amounts can accomplish nothing; they should try to raise funds there themselves. Money raised abroad should be used entirely for a newspaper, to insure that it comes out in eight pages or, at least, regularly with six pages. This is now the central question. A newspaper will now become not only the political leader but also the organizer of the Left Opposition in Germany. The role of an émigré paper is absolutely unique: it would be a timely thing now to read over Lenin's *What Is to Be Done?*—where he talks precisely about an émigré paper under conditions of illegal work inside a country....

Tact, caution, and flexibility

May 8, 1933

Leon Trotsky reads the Militant in 1931 in Turkey. The revolutionary leader lived

there 1929-34 after his expulsion from the Soviet Union by the Stalin regime.

Dear Friend,

I am happy that we agree on the question of the German paper. This is a very important question. We can and must make the paper rise to the occasion. Circumstances are such that we must set ourselves the goal of converting it into a weekly paper. To be sure, the paper must be reinforced financially, by means of a correct organization of distribution.

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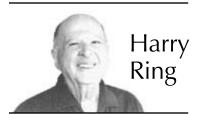
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-GREAT SOCIETY -

Bring them too?—We've pondered the fact that National Guard members and other units in Iraq have to buy their own



armored vests. They or their kin cough up some \$1,100 for them. The Department of War says it's

because there's a shortage. Now, what if there's a shortage of jets, tanks, and cluster bombs?

They looked "militant"?—"In the Gaza Strip, Israeli troops shot dead two Palestinian militants who edged close to the border fence with Israel. An Israeli army spokesman said the two were unarmed when they approached the fence but were carrying binoculars and cell phones, possible signs that they were planning an attack."—Boston Globe.

It only fuels the engine—Re-

porting wage losses and a stagnant job market in the closing months of 2003, a *USA Today* headline observed: "Job market not keeping pace with economy."

"Rip-off 101"—That's the title of a study by a group of University of California students on the incredible price of required text books. New books average \$102.44! Used copies average \$64.80. But they're scarce as proverbial hen's teeth.

Progress report—A new ferry has been built to shuttle between

Camden, Alabama, and the isolated Gees Bend community on the Alabama River. Ferry service was grounded 32 years ago to prevent Black residents of Gees Bend from crossing the river to stage a protest in the county seat. The new ferry will make the crossing in 30 minutes. The current road takes an hour. Ferry service was to resume in early February, but the new boat is grounded in shallow water. Stay tuned.

Adds a touch of excitement— "LONDON—Rail managers have launched an investigation into the faulty wiring on the West Coast Mainline. Inquiries are being made into how signaling cables on a 100 mph section were connected incorrectly. Signalers on a section of track could not tell where trains were."—The Times, London.

Larger plates needed—The Church of England is coping with a steady dwindling of membership, down 4 percent by last count. Those remaining steadfast are being told they must raise an extra £5 million a year (US\$9.5 million) to finance stipends for area bishops—chauffeurs, dinner parties, gardens, etc.

Cleveland imam charged with 'terrorism'

BY DOUG NELSON

CLEVELAND—FBI agents arrested Fawaz Damra, the imam of the Islamic Center of Cleveland, at his home January 13 and charged him with lying on his citizenship application by not disclosing ties to "terrorist organizations." He was released on a \$160,000 bond. If convicted, he could lose his citizenship and face up to five years in prison and a \$5,000 fine.

The Islamic Center of Cleveland, located in Parma, a suburb just south of Cleveland, is the largest mosque in Ohio. More than 200 people assembled at the community center of the mosque on January 16 where a diverse panel of Christian and Muslim leaders and other activists spoke in support of Damra. Several Christian clergy and congregation members expressed their indignation at the arrest and spoke about the imam's work to bring people of different faiths together.

Yoshiko Ikuta, a member of the Greater Cleveland Immigrant Support Network, compared the attack on immigrants today to the treatment of Japanese-Americans during World War II. "We ... were incarcerated because we have Japanese names." She urged the media "to refrain from further inflammatory comments ... [and] honor the precept of presumed innocence."

The Ohio chapter of the Council on American-Islamic Relations issued a statement: "CAIR-Ohio is concerned about the perception in the Muslim community that Imam Damra has been singled out for prosecution on a ten-year-old charge because of his political views on the Middle East conflict. Many Muslims believe this case fits a pattern in which Islamic community leaders are targeted using less-than-solid evidence or tenuous reasoning."

Damra was the last speaker. "I continue

to condemn terrorism and exercise my constitutional rights of free speech and political dissent, especially on the issue of Palestinian rights," he said. In reference to the big-business media's constant mentioning of an incident that took place over a decade ago in which he made anti-Semitic remarks, Damra said "I have made amends for past indiscretions of speech, but, nonetheless, they remain protected speech under the First Amendment."

"I will continue in my personal goal to bridge gaps of communication and bring people together," he continued. "In these difficult times we must not allow fear and hate to deprive us of our collective civil rights." Damra received a standing ovation from the audience.

Damra was secretly indicted based on confidential documents by a federal grand jury in December for "lies by omission" on immigration forms in 1993 and 1994. The indictment accuses him of failing to disclose his affiliation with the Alkifah Refugee Center and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and for failing to disclose a 1989 arrest for assault, a charge that was dismissed.

These organizations were legal at the time he applied for citizenship. In 1997,

using the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act passed the previous year, U.S. officials labeled Palestinian Islamic Jihad as one of several "foreign terrorist organizations" barring "material support" to them. The Alkifah Refugee Center, an organization that recruited volunteers to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan, was supported by the U.S. government.

His alleged connection with the Palestinian Islamic Jihad is based on his association with Sami Al-Arian, a professor and Palestinian activist in Tampa, who was arrested Feb. 20, 2003, on conspiracy charges. Al-Arian is accused of being the North American leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad and responsible for its finances. He remains a political prisoner, held under draconian conditions in the "Special Housing Unit" in Coleman Federal Prison Complex, 70 miles north of Tampa. His trial is set to begin in January 2005, nearly two years after his arrest.

In a show of force, the mayor of Parma sent over a dozen police officers inside the mosque—with a SWAT team and an armored vehicle waiting outside—during service on Friday, January 23, the day Damra returned to the pulpit after a three-day leave.

Students in Canada oppose tuition fee hike



Militant/Tony De Felice

Some 2,500 students rally in downtown Vancouver, British Columbia, during February 4 national day of protest against rising tuition costs and increasing debts. Edmonton, Winnipeg, and other cities also saw protests. According to the Canadian Federation of Students, total tuition fees for a four-year degree now average Can\$17,000 (US\$12,550). Fees in British Columbia have risen by 80 percent since 2001, when the Liberal government was elected.

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-25 AND 50 YEARS AGO -

THE MILITANT

SOCIALIST NEWSWEERLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

March 2, 1979

CRYSTAL CITY, Texas—A district judge has voided last November's Zavala County elections in which the Raza Unida Party made a clean sweep. He also found County Judge José Angel Gutiérrez, a prominent RUP leader, and two others in contempt

A throng of 800 angry, placard-bearing Chicanos had massed at the Crystal City courthouse for the hearing and 2,000 participated in a rally that night.

The community was particularly incensed since the election irregularities used to justify voiding the election had been committed not by Raza Unida, but by the losing Democrats!

In the election, the RUP had returned Judge Gutiérrez to office, elected several other county officials, and won a three-to-two majority on the county commission.

The Democrats then moved to steal back the RUP victory.

At a rump meeting of the outgoing county commission, on which they had a majority, the Democrats appointed a committee of three Democrats to recount the one commission election where the Democratic contender had come within 5 percent of the RUP winner. To the surprise of no one, they declared the defeated Democrat the winner.

There were charges that "aliens" had voted and that various other offenses had been committed. But even with these challenges, the Democrats couldn't come up with enough to change the outcome. So the judge accepted testimony regarding election records that had been misplaced.

The most astonishing thing about this is that the election material was misplaced not by a Raza Unida person, but by a Democrat

March 1, 1954

Westbrook Pegler, that bred-in-the-bone McCarthyite, has voiced the true aim of McCarthyism. He has declared himself publicly for fascism—and that's the exact word he uses.

Pegler put this in cold print, not mincing words. It is carried down a whole double-column in the Feb. 24 issue of the *N.Y. Journal-American*, one of the chief papers of the Hearst chain, and in a number of other newspapers, reaching millions, that feature his syndicated column.

"I am now convinced," brazenly asserts Pegler, "that all that prevents us from smashing the AF of L, the CIO and the 'independent' predators is a sentimental fear on the part of lay citizens and public men that they would be charged with fascism if they advocate this desirable reform.... They are afraid to advocate anything like State management of unions, because that, they say, would be fascism.

"I agree. Yes, that would be fascism. But I, who detest fascism, see advantages in such fascism."

These fascist elements have been emboldened above all by their latest victory in the Senate. They have seen how the Democrats—including the so-called "liberal" Democrats like Lehman—and the Republicans, including the so-called "liberal" Republicans like Morse—have abjectly capitulated under the lash of McCarthy's whip.

The fascists have seen how these "liberal" cravens, whose only answer to McCarthy is that they are even better witch-hunters than he, have knuckled under and voted 85 to 1 for the appropriations McCarthy demanded to continue his smear-drive in Congress against them.

——EDITORIAL———

U.S. hands off Korea!

This week we use the editorial space to publish a message to the Workers Party of Korea by Socialist Workers Party national secretary Jack Barnes and Olivia Nelson of the Young Social-

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists send revolutionary greetings on the February 16 national holiday of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. We reaffirm our common struggle to defend Korea's sovereignty and to achieve national reunification. We condemn the escalating military threats and ongoing political and economic blackmail of the DPRK by Washington, Tokyo, and other imperialist powers.

Dressing up its drive for expanded world domination as a "global war on terrorism," Washington has singled out the DPRK as a special target, different even from their unremitting and bullying pressures on the governments of Iran and Syria. The U.S. rulers use the testimony of former U.S. "weapons inspector" David Kay, as well as recent statements by the Libyan and Pakistani governments, to paint a sinister face on the DPRK's decades-long efforts to defend its sovereignty in face of U.S. imperialism's brutal, nuclear-armed might in south Korea, the surrounding waters, and throughout Asia and the Pacific.

Less than six months ago Washington launched the so-called Proliferation Security Initiative. Today along with 15 other countries, and claiming the support of another 35 countries, these imperialist bandits carry out their piracy. Under the PSI, the U.S. government asserts the "right" — a right it has acted on and will continue to act on— to carry out acts of piracy on the high seas, in the air, and on the ground against ships, cargo planes, and any other vehicles carrying goods to or from the DPRK and other nations. What imperial hypocrisy from a government

that unleashed nuclear weapons to incinerate hundreds of thousands of inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at the close of World War II, and that is continually expanding and upgrading its massive nuclear arsenal on the ground, at sea, in the air, and soon in space as well!

At the same time, the imperialist government of Japan this month has just adopted new legislation enabling Tokyo to impose unilateral economic sanctions against the DPRK. This action comes as Japan's capitalist rulers, the former colonial overlords of Korea, are for the first time since World War II sending combat troops to war zones abroad. Initial contingents are already being deployed in southern Iraq as part of the some 1,000 Japanese troops pledged by Tokyo to bolster the Anglo-American-led armed forces occupying Iraq.

As the propertied ruling families of the United States consolidate their aggressive military course, however, spreading depression conditions worldwide are simultaneously laying the groundwork for stepped-up resistance by workers and peasants from Latin America, Asia, and Africa, to the United States, Europe, and other imperialist centers themselves. It is among such forces engaged in battles against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression that the workers and peasants of Korea, on both sides of the U.S.-imposed border, will find the most consistent and selfless allies in their fight for national reunification and social justice.

On this anniversary, the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialists pledge to renew our efforts to get out the truth about the Korean people's ongoing struggle against imperialism and to join with others in demanding of the U.S. government: No to military threats and provocations! End the economic embargo! Normalize diplomatic relations with the DPRK! All U.S. troops out of Korea!

New Mexico strike

Continued from front page and a raise in the allowance for Navajo traditional medicine.

The miners struck at the Navajo and La Plata surface mines, and surface workers struck at the San Juan underground mine. The 200 underground miners at that mine, who are also members of IUOE Local 953, had ratified a separate contract last May. All three mines are located on the New Mexico side of the Four Corners area of the Navajo Nation. Ninety percent of the miners are Navajo.

Miners said that dignity and respect were central issues in the strike. "They don't respect us," Doreen Tanner, a heavy equipment operator at the Navajo Area III mine, told the Farmington Daily Times, referring to the bosses. "They said 'you Navajos are soft, you won't last, we'll throw a quarter at you and you'll jump at it.' If they respected us at all this contract negotiation wouldn't have gone on this long."

Don Looney, business manager for the union, told the *Militant* that the new contract included a \$1.00 across-theboard wage increase followed by annual increases of 2 percent, 1.75 percent, and 2 percent over the remaining three years. For many years the company had only agreed to raises of 20 and 30 cents. Looney reported that miners have also won an increase in the Native Healing Service, or traditional medicine, allowance from \$500 to \$650. They had asked for twice that amount. He also explained that there were improvements in the retirement package.

The miners feel empowered. The union needed this," Looney said.

Support for the strikers came from many chapters of the Navajo Nation, including Shiprock, Fruitland, Burnham, and Nenahnezad. On February 12, Navajo Nation President Joe Shirley, Jr., and a delegation from the Navajo Nation Council visited the picket lines.

Another issue in the strike was defense and implementation of preferential hiring provisions for Navajos, which is part of the agreement that allows the company

to operate on Navajo land. According to the Gallup Independent, Lawrence T. Morgan, speaker of the Navajo Nation Council, told miners on February 12, "BHP needs to be reminded that there is a contract and Navajo preference is in there.'

Despite the abundance of natural resources on their lands, many Navajos live in conditions that in some respects resemble those in underdeveloped countries. According to the 2000–2001 Comprehensive Economic Development Strategy Report from the Navajo Nation Division of Economic Development, 56 percent of Navajos live below the poverty level, per capita income is \$6,217, and unemployment is 43 percent. These figures underscore the importance of preferential hiring.

The Navajo reservation lands are rich with natural resources that private companies have exploited for years. Disputes between the U.S. government and the Navajo Nation continue today over land and mineral rights, including recent attempts by Washington to expand natural gas drilling on nearby public lands.

Several Navajo Nation chapters, along with ranchers and environmental groups, filed a lawsuit February 4 against the U.S. Department of the Interior for allowing 10,000 new natural gas wells to begin operations that will pollute the environment in ranching areas and destroy thousands of Native American cultural sites.

Joe Nez, a miner at the Navajo mine, said: "We let the company know that we won't take it any more. It was about time we took a stand." He added that this was not just about the Navajo miners. "We have Hispanic and Anglos working here. This is a fight about respecting all the miners. We have to use the next four years to be better prepared for the next fight."

Calvin Yazzie said "the company was surprised that we went out and stood our ground. I think we could have gotten more if we had stayed out longer but it was worth it. We are more unified now.'

Amy Euston contributed to this article.

U.S.-backed revolt in Haiti

Continued from front page

have left more than 50 dead, it is clear that Washington is seeking to take advantage of the breakdown in government authority to impose its own demands on Aristide. Some White House officials have also hinted at support for Aristide's ouster.

U.S. State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said February 10 that "reaching a political settlement will require some fairly thorough changes in the way Haiti is governed, and how the security situation is maintained." The New York Times quoted another unnamed State Department official as saying, "when we talk about undergoing change in the way Haiti is governed, I think that could indeed involve changes in Aristide's position."

How Aristide came to power

After successive U.S. administrations backed the brutal Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti for nearly 30 years, the White House is now hypocritically charging the Aristide government with holding undemocratic elections. Washington has undermined the Haitian government by withholding aid and directing other governments and imperialist financial institutions to follow suit. Suspended aid and loan disbursements total more than \$500 million.

Aristide was elected president in 1990 following a revolutionary uprising that overturned the regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier. He was overthrown himself in a military coup the following year. Aristide was returned to office in 1994 through American bayonets, after U.S. troops invaded Haiti and restored his government. Since that time he has implemented many of Washington's demands, including the lowering of tariffs on U.S. goods, floating the gourde (Haiti's national currency), privatizing state-owned companies, and cutting social programs. These measures have exacerbated the rampant unemployment and miserable living conditions faced by the toilers because of the imperialist domination of the nation and the effects of a deepening worldwide capitalist crisis.

Moreover, the government reliance on thug tactics to intimidate the opposition has backfired. Supporters of Famni Lavalas, Aristide's political party, attacked rector Pierre-Marie Michel Paquiot of the State University of Haiti during a December demonstration on campus in Port-au-Prince and broke both his legs, according to the Washington Post. This action strengthened opposition to Aristide among students, the *Post* reported.

Jean-Claude Bajeux, a former minister of culture in Aristide's cabinet, has added his voice to right-wing calls for the removal of the president. Bajeux, who like Aristide had spoken out against the Duvalier dictatorship, told the New York Times, "Power that has fallen into delinquency wants to have its own law. It is for this reason that Aristide lies and kills."

Origins, brutality of rebels also shine spotlight on character of government

The Gonaives Resistance Front, formerly known as the Cannibal Army and at one time allied with Aristide, took over the city on February 5. It has been joined by former soldiers and politicians who served previous military dictatorships.

The Cannibal Army turned against Aristide after the arrest of its main leader, Amiot "Cubain" Metayer, in July 2002. The next month Metayer was freed from the Gonaives prison along with 150 others in a breakout organized by his supporters. Amiot Metayer was murdered last September. His brother, Butteur Metayer, along with Jean Tatoune, former leader of the right-wing Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti (FRAPH), have emerged as the central leaders of the armed resistance to Aristide in Gonaives. "We are fighting Aristide with the weapons he gave us," Metayer told the New York Times. "He gave us the guns to stop the opposition, but now we oppose him."

The United Nations World Food Program reports that Gonaives has been barricaded, preventing the arrival of food from relief agencies, and effectively blocking Haiti's main highway, cutting off the country's northern shore from Port-au-Prince.

Government forces have reportedly recaptured some towns. Miami Herald reporters in Haiti, however, said that an attempt by the Haitian National police to take Gonaives was repelled February 14. According to the Herald, a large number of the city's residents surrounded the police and prevented them from retaking the city of 200,000.

The Haitian National Police was set up by the government with Washington's guidance after U.S. troops invaded Haiti in 1994 and restored Aristide to the presidency. Washington also dissolved the Haitian Army. Aristide stepped down from the presidency in 1995 but was re-elected in 2000. Formerly a Catholic priest well-known for his opposition to Duvalier and subsequent military dictatorships in Haiti, Aristide helped lead protests that forced Duvalier to flee the country in 1986.

The current armed actions come after a yearlong campaign of mass demonstrations led by bourgeois forces such as the Group of 184 and the Washington-backed Democratic Convergence, which are demanding Aristide's resignation. The large size of these rallies show that opponents of Aristide are winning a hearing among broader layers of the population.

One reason is a worsening economic crisis—exacerbated by the imperialist domination of the country by Washington, Paris, and other powers. Haiti has the lowest standard of living in the Americas. In some areas, some 33 percent of Haitians are malnourished. Unemployment is nearly 70 percent. These conditions have not improved under Aristide's administration.

A second, and more important, reason is the repressive policies of the Aristide regime that are increasingly alienating the toilers from politics and pushing working people to the sidelines—like breaking the legs of the State University of Haiti official.

At demonstrations organized by Aristide supporters in defense of "constitutional rule," participants have chanted: "Elections yes, coup d'etat no," and "Five years"—referring to Aristide's mandated term in office, which ends in February 2006. Some of these actions have also been very sizeable, including a February 7 demonstration in Cite Soleil on the anniversary of Aristide's inauguration, which the government claimed was as large as 1 million.

Why Washington can't trust Aristide regime

Although Aristide has implemented many of Washington's conditions that have reinforced imperialist domination of Haiti and have ruined the livelihoods of workers and farmers, he has also taken some measures the U.S. rulers do not like. He reestablished diplomatic relations with Cuba and has accepted the help of 800 Cuban doctors and medical personnel.

While the French, Canadian, U.S., and other governments have issued travel warnings and advised their citizens to leave Haiti, Cuban ambassador to Haiti Rolando Gómez issued a statement saying that the hundreds of Cuban medical workers in Haiti would remain at their posts and would strictly abide by the principle of noninterference in Haiti's internal affairs.

Most importantly, Aristide has been unable to break the combativity and self-confidence that Haitian workers and farmers gained through the experience of the victorious revolt against the Duvalier regime, and their resistance to the harsh economic conditions they face.

Seeking to further squeeze the Aristide government, U.S. president George Bush met late last year in Washington with the prime minister of Trinidad and Tobago and urged CARICOM, the organization of Caribbean governments, to increase pressure on Aristide and force him to grant concessions to the pro-imperialist opposition.

CARICOM responded at its January meeting by demanding the Haitian government disarm the population, "depoliticize" the police force, free political prisoners, and pledge to not seek to extend his term. A CARICOM delegation met opposition leaders and demanded that Aristide bring opposition members into the government. Aristide agreed to all these demands.

CARICOM said it would be willing to organize an international "peacekeeping" force.

So has the government of France, the former colonial power in Haiti. According to a February 17 report by BBC News, French foreign minister Dominique de Villepin said, "We have the capacity to intervene and... many friendly countries are ready to do so."

Jamaican prime minister and CARICOM chairman Percival Patterson threatened Haiti with sanctions if Aristide doesn't accept further opposition demands. "The consequence of a failure to respond positively to the proposals we have made would result in our considering whether Haiti is in compliance with [CARICOM's] Charter for a Civil Society," he said.

As in the past, when he relied on U.S. troops to return to power, Aristide has indicated again that he is open to imperialist intervention to retain his position, not on a mobilized working class and peasantry. "A group of terrorists are breaking democratic order," he told reporters February 16. "I have already asked and I will continue to ask the international community and prime ministers of the region to move faster on this issue."

Los Angeles forum: End U.S. restrictions on travel to Cuba!

BY LAUREN HART

LOS ANGELES-More than 100 people turned out here to defend the right to travel at a January 30 program sponsored by the Los Angeles Coalition in Solidarity with Cuba. A panel of a dozen speakers condemned Washington's longstanding restrictions on travel to Cuba and its recent tightening of them, as well as the prosecution of individuals who have visited the Caribbean island.

The meeting also honored Jon Hillson. who died unexpectedly the day before. Hillson, a co-chair of the coalition, had been centrally responsible for organizing the meeting. Messages recalling Hillson's work in solidarity with Cuba were read to the meeting.

Samuel Altamirano and Oriel Maria Siu, members of the steering committee organizing a youth seminar that will take place in Cuba March 26-April 4, co-chaired the meeting. "Our focus tonight is to speak out on travel to Cuba," Siu said in introducing

As part of its nearly 45-year campaign of aggression against the Cuban Revolution, the U.S. government restricts travel by U.S. citizens and residents to Cuba. In 2002, about 160,000 people traveled to Cuba on licenses issued by the U.S. Treasury Department. About half were Cubans visiting family on the island. Other licenses have been issued for educational institutions, journalists, and religious organizations. Last year the Bush administration announced it would eliminate licenses for "people-to-people" exchanges, under which a wide range of groups have organized educational trips to Cuba. Many of these licenses are now expiring.

Last November Treasury Department officials announced that they would begin judicial proceedings against U.S. citizens accused of going to Cuba without authorization. A featured speaker at the meeting was Fred Burks, who is "Case 001" under this stepped-up enforcement effort. Burks, who worked as a translator for President Bush during his 2003 trip to Indonesia, described how he began to receive threatening letters after he took a vacation in Cuba in 1999. He refused to settle the case by paying a fine of \$7,500. His case will come before an administrative judge later this year.

"The travel ban doesn't just stop us from traveling, it keeps us strangers," said Laurence Shoobs, of the Los Angeles chapter of the U.S.-Cuba Sister Cities Association. For example, "the travel ban and ban on information keep us from knowing that 100,000 laid-off Cuban sugar workers are receiving their full pay and job training," in sharp contrast to the situation faced by laid-off workers in the United States, he added.

Joel Britton, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California in the last election, described how he and a Wisconsin dairy farmer participated in activities celebrating the 40th anniversary of the founding of the National Organization of Small Farmers in Cuba in 2001, under one of the "people-to-people" licenses of the type that Washington is doing away with. U.S. rulers, "through 10 Republican and Democratic administrations," have tried to destroy the Cuban Revolution, he said. "Its example is what they fear." Britton cited Hillson's "unstinting efforts in defense of the Cuban Revolution and in organizing meetings like this one tonight."

Miguel Perez, a student at California State University, Northridge, who went to Cuba as part of the Cuba-U.S. Youth Exchange last summer, commented on the contrast between the free education and health-care systems he observed in Cuba and the fact that "here in California they're raising education fees again."

Actors Ed Asner and John Densmore sent messages that were read to the meeting. "I'm glad to add my voice to the majority of Americans who believe in the right

Unionists in New York rally in solidarity with grocery workers on West Coast



NEW YORK—500 people rally February 5 at Wall Street in support of 70,000 grocery workers on strike or locked out in Southern California since October. The majority of protesters were members of the United Food and Commercial Workers—the union at the center of the labor fight on the West Coast. Other unionists present included members of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees on strike against the Oyster Bar restaurant. Chants of "No justice, No peace!" echoed around the financial district. Two inflatable rats represented the Albertsons, Vons, and Ralphs grocery chains. Lori Marrujo, one of two locked-out unionists to address the rally, said: "Saving health care is a cause worth fighting for. If these companies think we are giving up, I have a message for them: You are dead wrong!" Marrujo and Maria Patris toured New York for two days to win support for the strike.

—SALM KOLIS

to travel," wrote Asner. Densmore noted, "Artists from all countries should be able to come together."

Preston Woods spoke on behalf of the Los Angeles chapter of the National Committee to Free the Five. That group is working to defend five Cuban patriots who are serving lengthy jail terms in the United States for their work to gather information about rightist groups that have carried out attacks against Cuba. The case is at an important juncture, he said, noting that oral arguments in the prisoners' appeal will be presented in federal court in Miami

Other speakers on the panel included

Noemi Aguirre of the Latin American Society at California State University, Los Angeles; Alberto Valdivia, treasurer of the United Teachers of Los Angeles; Jan Goodman, leader of the National Lawyers Guild and of Americans for Democratic Action; Carol Frances Likins, an activist in Pastors for Peace; Don White, of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; and Eduardo Torres of Casa del Pueblo.

Mark Masaoka, from the Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress Cuba Committee, described how he had worked with Jon Hillson to organize the first Japanese-American delegation to Cuba in 2001.

-LETTERS

Rebellion in Haiti

I have been watching the Militant hoping for something about Haiti, where there is a fight going on between Aristide and who? I have heard a report that opposition stems from those who backed the United States in contesting the original election of Aristide; that protesters represent certain class interests in collision with Aristide and his (the report says) defense of the poor. It is not the same as Venezuela's current conflict but sounds oddly familiar. Could you comment? Jeri Mullan

Chicago, Illinois

Attack on benefits

A little-published fact is that extensions for unemployment benefits have been abolished by Congress as of December 21. After six months one no longer has benefits while previously there had been a three-month extension. These brutal cuts affect all unemployed workers, including this airline worker.

Rick Young Chicago, Illinois

Solidarity with miners

Twenty prisoners at the Hudson County Corrections Center in Kearny, New Jersey, signed and sent a message of solidarity January 14 to the coal miners on strike against CW Mining near Huntington, Utah. (See front-page article.) They also sent a copy of their letter to the Militant, asking that it be published. Excerpts from the message appear below.

Two of the men—Farouk Abdel-Muhti and Abdul Hamid—sent personal letters of support to the miners at the same time. Excerpts from these letters also appear below.

All of these prisoners were jailed under accusations of violating U.S. immigration law. Farouk Abdel-Muhti's campaign against this injustice is known to readers of the *Militant*. He is an outspoken advocate of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination who was arrested in April 2002 and has been held without charges ever since.

Abdel-Muhti has gained wide support for his fight to be released

Donate to the

Prisoners Fund

The 'Militant' receives many

requests from readers behind bars.

The Prisoners Fund makes it pos-

sible to send them subscriptions at

a reduced rate. A prisoner can buy a

six-month subscription for \$6 and a

magazine 'Perspectiva Mundial'

offers prisoners a six-month sub-

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To help cover the cost of these

special offers, please send a check

or money order, earmarked "Prison-

ers Fund," to the Militant, 306 W. 37

St., 10th Floor, New York, NY 10018.

The Spanish-language monthly

one-year subscription for \$12.

subscription for \$6.

Message from 20 prisoners We want to send our heartfelt

support to the miners in Utah. They are engaged in a just strike, and are courageously claiming their right to return to their jobs and demanding recognition as unionists organized inside the UMWA [United Mine

ton's effort to deport him. Letters de-

manding his release should be sent

to David Venturella, Office of De-

tention and Removal, Department

of Homeland Security: fax (202)

353-9435; tel. (202) 514-8663;

e-mail: david.venturella@dhs.gov,

with copies to the defense commit-

–Editor

tee at freefarouk@yahoo.com.

Workers of America] with the right to be treated with respect on the job.... The treatment handed out to the miners seems to us abusive, as they were suspended from their jobs and thrown out into the streets to swell the numbers of the unemployed; in our eyes, these actions by the Co-Op owners are undemocratic and

antiquated. These exploiters are holding off the formation of a union, when the right of free association is a right won many years ago and is accepted and recognized by the whole world. This backward attitude shows that they want to go on exploiting and abusing the workers, and violating their rights.

The right to organize in the UMWA is...a natural right of humanity; the bosses are still living in the epoch of the cave-dwellers, and we are obliged to wake them up to reality.... To be able to defend this right it is necessary to organize against this feudalistic company, which is backed by the Sheriff and by the system manipulated by the imperialist administration in Washington....

We call on all people of principles and with true humanity, on students, professionals, housewives, and all the workers of the country and the entire world to support these valiant miners with funds, food, medicines, publicity, and legal assistance (especially to the immigrants) so they can continue their battle....

We are sending this message from the immigration prison in Hudson County Correctional Center, Unit B100 West, in Kearny, New Jersey, where we are detained awaiting deportation.

Go forward with courage! Farouk Abdel-Muhti, Palestine Abdul Hamid Wady, Colombia Gianni, Italy Hemnauth Mohabis, Guyana Sory Soeun, Cambodia Pantaleon Remigio, Dominican Republic Traore Aboubacar, Guinea Francisco Espinoza, Cuba Nuo Li, People's Republic of China Ricardo Ventura, Brazil Juanoc Vosye, Ukraine

Nic Vong, Laos Marcelino Pons, Cuba Renaldo Izquierdo, Cuba Noor Mohammed, India Antonio Martin, Cape Verde Edward Morgan, Jamaica Luis Pardo, Colombia

Pedro Rodríguez, Cuba

Glen Salcedo, Ecuador

Farouk Abdel-Muhti:

To my brothers and comrade mine workers of Utah. The valiant Palestinian people are fighting with the intifada to free their occupied lands and obtain their independence, sovereignty in the territories occupied on June 4, 1967, and the return of their refugees, who have been crucified for 55 years, to their homes in the historic land of Palestine.

I link arms with your resistance, to the just and dignified demands you have raised as workers and lovers of liberty, equality, and peace

Abdul Hamid Wady:

I am Colombian and 64 years old, 30 years dedicated to the union movement in Colombia, and my experience in the union allows me to say that the only weapon of the working class that can defeat the exploiting bosses and reactionaries is the strike—that's what hurts them most and is most likely to force the irrational ones to locate their powers of reason.

To vanquish or to die! Never on our knees!

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people.

Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Cuban 5 prepare appeal of conviction

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—An appeal by attorneys for five Cuban revolutionaries being held in U.S. jails on frame-up conspiracy charges will be heard by the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals on March 10 in Atlanta. Fernando González, René González, Antonio Guerrero, Gerardo Hernández, and Ramón Labañino, who are together known as the Cuban Five, are serving harsh sentences following their convictions in 2001. They have gained international support for their fight to overturn these frame-up convictions.

The FBI arrests of the five Cubans in 1998 were accompanied by highly publicized and sensational announcements that the federal cops had discovered a "Cuban spy network" in Florida whose members had tried to infiltrate the U.S. Southern Command and had passed military secrets to Havana. The men explained at their trial that they were in the United States to gather information on ultrarightist organizations that have been responsible for carrying out armed violent attacks on Cuba from U.S. soil with Washington's complicity.

The five were charged with conspiracy to commit espionage and to act as unregistered foreign agents. Hernández was also charged with conspiracy to commit murder. They were given sentences ranging from 15 years to a double life term in the case of Hernández.

Attorneys for the defendants have submitted an extensive written appeal but have been allotted a total of 15 minutes, or three minutes for each prisoner's lawyer, during the March 10 oral arguments. "We have filed a motion asking for additional time based on the extent of the trial and volume of the record," Leonard Weinglass, the attorney for Guerrero, said in a February 13 phone interview with the *Militant*. "The court has not yet responded, but we are scheduled as the last case for that day, which increases the possibility that we will get more time."

In a January 23 interview with Radio Havana Cuba, Weinglass outlined the main arguments of the appeal. The defense was hampered during the trial, he said, because the government wrongfully withheld documents the defense was entitled to, claiming they were secret. Weinglass added that the government broke its own laws when agents surreptitiously entered the apartments of Hernández and others and secretly downloaded information from their computers.

The appeal also states that the evidence was lacking for the charges of conspiracy

to commit murder against Hernández and conspiracy to commit espionage leveled at Guerrero and two other defendants. It says that attorneys had asked for the trial to be moved out of Miami, contending that a fair trial would not be possible there.

Furthermore, said Weinglass, the sentences handed out to the defendants were excessive and in violation of U.S. law.

The written appeal also highlights the charged climate from the beginning of the trial that included, "hostile prospective jurors—among them a member of the right wing Cuban American National Foundation—blistering editorials and news articles throughout the trial...and the dogged following of jurors by Spanish-language media (including the govern-

ment-sponsored Radio Martí)."

Radio Martí was set up by Washington to attempt to broadcast into Cuba illegally as part of Washington's propaganda campaign against the Cuban Revolution.

With the aim of isolating them from supporters and each other, the government has placed the five men in separate jails across the country. On Feb. 28, 2003, all five were thrown into solitary confinement by order of the Department of Justice, which argued that the support they were receiving and the limited visits they were allowed posed a "national security risk." They were released a month later following an international protest campaign.

Weinglass also told Radio Havana that his client was moved without prior notice from the prison where he had been held in Colorado while his mother was in this country visiting him from Cuba. At that time Guererro was taken to a prison medical facility in Springfield, Missouri, for minor surgery. Upon arrival he was placed in solitary confinement, where he was kept during consultations with the surgeon performing the procedure. Weinglass said that Guerrero was told that this is a normal practice in the prison.

Last December, for the fourth time, the U.S. government refused to grant visas to Olga Salanueva, the wife of René González, and Adriana Pérez, the wife of Gerardo Hernández, to allow them to come to the United States from Cuba to visit their husbands.

Nickel miners strike Ontario giant

BY ROSEMARY RAY

SUDBURY, Ontario—"We're on strike to make sure that mining jobs in Sudbury stay in the union," said Chad Rhiness on the picket line at the Falconbridge nickel smelter here. Rhiness and 1,080 other members of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 598 are on strike at the four mines and smelter owned by Falconbridge, the world's third-largest producer of nickel.

Following a ballot that saw 98 percent of workers vote in favor of striking, workers set up picket lines at the Falconbridge sites February 1. Rhiness told *Militant* reporters February 7 that the bosses aim "to build two new mines with nonunion contractors, and our union is not going to let that happen." The new mines are planned for Nickel Rim South and Fraser-Morgan in the Sudbury area. Workers pointed out that such a step would violate the current contract, which states that all new mining operations opened by Falconbridge here will fall under CAW 598's bargaining jurisdiction.

Bill Bush, a miner for nine years at Falconbridge, said, "contract workers get less than half the pay of unionized miners, have no health benefits, and work in unsafe conditions."

The company's drive to use contractors was a central issue in a strike three years ago that lasted more than six months. The 2001 fight ended with deep contract concessions by the union. In return, the company promised workers so-called job security.

Today union leaders estimate that 25 percent of Falconbridge's workforce is nonunion. Only 50 workers were hired to



Steelworkers union members join strikers picketing Falconbridge nickel smelter

replace the 206 union miners who retired over the last three years, they say. Meanwhile, the company boasts that productivity has gone up by 3 percent. Rhiness explained that the miners are striking to defend the union. "Falconbridge wants to wait for seven to eight years till there's no ore left in its current mines, lay off all the union guys, and have contractors running the new mines," he said as he offered visitors coffee and bowls of hot chili.

Company spokesman Dale Coffin com-

plains that the union contract gets in the way of "flexibility to mine area ore zones in the future"

in the future."
Fourth-quarter profits at Falconbridge quadrupled in 2003, mainly because of the rise in the price of nickel. The metal is currently selling for US\$7.50 a pound, a 15-year record. Falconbridge president Aaron Regent has said that he would rather lose money in confronting the union than "accept a solution which is neat in the short term but in the long term will significantly erode shareholder value and shorten the life of our assets."

The bosses are using helicopters to fly in scabs and supplies to try to keep production flowing—a tactic they employed in the 2001 fight. In response, said Rhiness, the workers have held up scab buses and trucks for up to 13 hours by organizing car caravans to drive in circles around the smelter gate.

On the evening of February 7, retired Falconbridge miners organized a strike solidarity rally at the local hockey arena. Among the speakers was John Fera, president of United Steelworkers Local 6500. The Steelworkers organize miners at the Sudbury Inco mine, the second-largest nickel mine in the world and scene of a strike by 3,500 workers last year. Announcing a donation of \$5,000 toward the miners' strike fund, Fera said, "You were behind us when we went on strike for three months last summer to defend our health benefits and we will be with you now for every day of your strike."

Support for the miners is building in the area as retired miners prepare hot food for the picket lines and the Family Auxiliary provides aid to the strikers' families. The strikers have delivered leaflets to area residents around the smelter, offering to shovel snow as a gesture of solidarity.

Messages of support can be sent to Mine Mill and Smelter Local 598/CAW, 19 Regent St. South, Sudbury, Ontario, P3C 4B7. Daily strike updates are posted on the union web site at www.minemill598.com.

Canadian steel firm uses club of bankruptcy

BY ROBERT SIMMS

TORONTO, Canada—"This puts your plans in the air," said Paul Miller. The 52-year-old welder and fabricator at Stelco, Inc. spoke to the *Toronto Star* after attending a United Steelworkers of America union meet-

From Pathfinder

The Eastern Airlines Strike Accomplishments of the Rank-and-File Unionists

by Ernie Mailhot, Judy Stranahan and Jack Barnes

The story of the 686-day strike in which a rankand-file resistance by Machinists prevented



Eastern's union-busting onslaught from becoming the road to a profitable nonunion airline. \$9.95

Available from www.pathfinderpress.com ing January 29 to discuss the bankruptcy protection just granted the company, which is the largest Canadian steelmaker.

"We do have to reduce the workforce," Stelco CEO Courtney Pratt wrote in a letter to employees the same day. The letter outlined a so-called restructuring plan that included cutting jobs, wages, and benefits. One of the chief targets will be pension and medical benefits for retirees, who number 13,000. Stelco's pension plan is underfunded to the tune of Can\$2.1 billion (Can\$1=US\$.76), when medical and drug benefits are included.

The pension fund shortfall "really makes you think about the times over the years that the company took a vacation from making pension payments," said Miller. Several years ago, the Ontario government exempted Stelco from the requirement to fully fund their pension plan when their profits slipped. In the first 11 months of 2003, the company lost \$206 million on revenue of \$2.5 billion.

Like Air Canada in 2003 and Algoma Steel in 2001, both of which declared themselves bankrupt and then forced takebacks on their workforces, the Stelco bosses have signaled their intention to use the mechanism of bankruptcy protection to go after hard-won union wages, benefits, and conditions.

The court order granting Stelco protection under the Companies' Creditors Arrangement Act (CCAA) allows the company to lay off workers outside of seniority, and to brush aside other parts of its union contract. The company has said it will cut 500 jobs through attrition. Other estimates place job cuts as high as 1,500.

In the United States, giant Cleveland steel company LTV and Bethlehem Steel walked away from the health benefit plans for their combined 180,000 retirees after declaring bankruptcy, leaving the U.S, government to take over their faltering pension plans. Their assets and those of other smaller steel companies have now been restructured into International Steel Group Inc., which now has significantly lower costs than Stelco.

"The CCAA process is an abuse of power," said Rolf Gerstenberger, president of Local 1005 of the USWA in Hamilton, Ontario. The Steelworkers union represents 3,600 workers there, 1,000 at the Nanticoke operations, also in Ontario, and another 1,000 at smaller plants. Gerstenberger added: "Workers are not creditors, we are the ones who produce the steel."